



**University of  
Zurich**<sup>UZH</sup>

**Zurich Open Repository and  
Archive**

University of Zurich  
University Library  
Strickhofstrasse 39  
CH-8057 Zurich  
[www.zora.uzh.ch](http://www.zora.uzh.ch)

---

Year: 2020

---

## **World Englishes: an introduction**

Schreier, Daniel ; Hundt, Marianne ; Schneider, Edgar W

**Abstract:** After a brief overview of the main developments in the field of World Englishes (WEs) research, particularly with respect to different typologies and models of WEs, as well as advances in methodology, this introductory chapter provides short chapter summaries.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108349406.001>

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich

ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-198163>

Book Section

Published Version

The following work is licensed under a Publisher License.

Originally published at:

Schreier, Daniel; Hundt, Marianne; Schneider, Edgar W (2020). World Englishes: an introduction. In: Schreier, Daniel; Hundt, Marianne; Schneider, Edgar W.. The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-21.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108349406.001>

# World Englishes: An Introduction

Daniel Schreier, Marianne Hundt, and Edgar W. Schneider

The field generally labeled *World Englishes* (WEs) is rich and diverse, as research into structural, typological, and sociological aspects of varieties of English around the world has come a long way over the last forty years. The field has moved from the description of individual varieties, general modeling, and an overlap with traditional disciplines such as historical linguistics to highly dynamic topics requiring interdisciplinary approaches: transnationalism, language acquisition, identity formation, indexicality, and the role of new media and cyberspace. The complexity of the WEs paradigm (if indeed it is one single paradigm, a question that will be addressed repeatedly throughout the volume) derives from the fact that there are countless forms of English across the globe. These are difficult to classify: from informal and localized types to formal and supra-regional varieties, from internationally recognized to newly emerging local standards, from language-shift varieties to contact-derived pidgins and creoles, from second-language to learner varieties, and so on. English is now so widely spoken that it truly represents “the language on which the sun never sets.” While this has given rise to processes of linguistic diversification that are unparalleled on a global scale, there are also consequences for language hegemony, the overall balance of world languages and local (applied) issues that affect the daily lives of hundreds of millions of speakers: English is the language of a global economy, substantial parts of public discourse, and, for many of its speakers, it provides access to education, wealth, and so on.

The sheer diversity of WEs poses a challenge for attempts to model forms and functions of English as a world language. Traditional (synchronic) models (Kachru 1985; Görlach 1990) have recently been complemented by more dynamic (diachronic) ones (Schneider 2007), where identity (as a postcolonial local construct) is posited as the driving force that operates in a multistep cyclical development. Indeed, the term *Englishes*, once contested but now standard usage, has been adopted to emphasize the diversity of English as a global language with various regional forms

and the decreasing influence of one prestigious variety as an internationally recognized and accepted norm.

A serious academic discussion and a growing awareness of the special challenges posed by emerging Englishes have developed since the 1980s, mainly starting with work on Singapore English (Platt and Weber 1980; Platt, Weber, and Ho 1984; Foley 1988). The exact focus of the very general term WEs (which has largely replaced the earlier term “New Englishes”) is difficult to pin down, as it comprises various variety types. McArthur (2003: 56) suggested the label “English Language Complex,” which was fleshed out by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 3–6) into the following typology:

- metropolitan standard varieties (England, USA)
- “colonial” standard varieties in the former British Empire, e.g. in Australia, New Zealand, Canada (Extraterritorial Englishes; Lass 1990)
- regional dialects of metropolitan and extraterritorial Englishes (with the latter being emergent)
- social dialects of metropolitan and extraterritorial Englishes, i.e. variation across class, ethnicity, gender, etc. (e.g. Cockney, the cline from Broad via General to Cultivated accents in Australia and New Zealand, African American English, Aboriginal English, Māori English)
- pidgins (restricted *linguae francae* with limited lexicons and simplified morphosyntax, particularly common in, and yet not limited to, the equatorial belt, where there was extensive trade and slavery)
- creoles (further refined and elaborated contact-derived systems, often with English as a lexifier, and spoken natively)
- English as an institutionalized Second Language (ESL), spoken in bi- and multilingual nations where English has an important social or political function (in education, commerce, jurisdiction, etc.)
- English as a Foreign Language (EFL), where English is learned as an additional language in regions where English has had no historical (colonial) roots
- immigrant Englishes resulting from the migration of large numbers of people to English-speaking countries (e.g. Chicano English in the USA or Polish English in the UK)
- shift varieties of English in communities characterized by high contact, bilingualism, and multilingualism (the historical origins of Hiberno English)
- unstable jargons or pre-pidgins (with greater individual variation than what would be expected in a true pidgin)
- hybrid Englishes, i.e. varieties that emerged in urban centers such as Singapore out of code-mixing and that have the potential to develop into local markers of identity

This typology can be extended, of course, and it will be shown in this volume that new forms are constantly emerging (see, e.g., the “grassroots Englishes” described by Schneider [2016] or multicultural varieties, studied by, e.g.,

Cheshire et al. [2011]). Attempts to model such astounding heterogeneity received the first major boost by Braj B. Kachru's (1985) suggestion that English(es) can be grouped into three concentric circles: an *Inner Circle*, i.e. countries of historical continuity which in a sense represent the traditional bases of English (the UK, the USA, Australia, etc.), where the language is spoken natively by the majority of speakers (English as a Native Language, or ENL); the *Outer Circle*, which includes countries where English is important for historical reasons and where it is spoken mostly as a second language (e.g. as the legacy of political expansion or colonization by the British Empire) and where it plays a part in the nation's institutions (ESL countries include India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Kenya, Singapore, etc.); and, finally, the *Expanding Circle*, in which we find those countries where English plays no historical or governmental role but where it is widely used as a foreign language or lingua franca (EFL countries such as China, Russia, Japan, much of continental Europe). Speaker numbers are notoriously difficult to estimate for obvious reasons (lack of population statistics in many countries, especially on multilingualism and language usage; unclear definitions of proficiency levels as a yardstick), but recent estimates quote ca. 350–400 million native speakers, ca. 600–800 million ESL speakers, and between 500 million and perhaps 1.5 billion or more EFL speakers and learners (Crystal 2008; Schneider 2011: 56).

Though Kachru's model was by far the most influential approach, a number of problems have been identified and these have given rise to extensive discussions in the literature (for an overview, see Buschfeld and Kautzsch, Chapter 3, this volume, or Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). For one, the concentric model is static rather than dynamic (not leaving much room for transition from one circle to the other); based on geography, nation-states, history, and ancestry rather than on perceptions of identity or shared linguistic features; and also struggles to account for linguistic diversity within individual varieties. The model also triggered rather emotional debates on issues of norm orientation. Kachru (1985) called the Inner Circle (UK, USA, Australia, New Zealand) "norm-providing," the Outer Circle "norm-developing," and the Expanding Circle "norm-dependent," thus relying on standards set by native speakers. Regional, social, and ethnic diversity, for example within South Africa, also contributes to blurring the lines and makes it difficult to assign many nations to specific variety types.

Schneider (2007) builds on all these criteria in his Dynamic Model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes (PCEs). His main point is that, notwithstanding the fact that English develops in heterogeneous multilingual contexts around the world and despite all evident differences, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory. This makes it possible to present individual histories of PCEs as manifestations of the same underlying process (Schneider

2007: 5). Each stage sees characteristic features and developments as caused by specific parameters: extralinguistic history determines identity definitions of the groups involved, which shapes their sociolinguistic conditions of interaction, and these, in turn, ultimately influence the structural properties of an emerging variety. Schneider's Dynamic Model has been widely discussed, frequently adopted, and largely accepted; for example, Seoane (in Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2016: 4) stated that this "ground-breaking model fundamentally changed the way we approach World Englishes" (cf. Buschfeld et al. 2014; for some stocktaking and an overview of applications and discussions, see Schneider 2014). It is explicitly geared toward postcolonial varieties, however, and seems less suitable for an application to the expanding circle (cf. Schneider 2014) – though this has also been attempted (e.g. Ike 2012 on Japan).

Lately, the dynamism of the extension of WEs has reached out to new domains – a process that Schneider (2014) labeled "transnational attraction." For instance, a recent research trend has strongly questioned the strict distinction between ESL (or "Outer circle") and EFL (or "Expanding circle"), which seems much more a continuum than a dichotomy (see the papers and discussion in Mukherjee and Hundt 2011 or Davydova 2012). It has been shown that ESL countries can lose this status, as in the case of Cyprus (Buschfeld 2013), or that EFL countries can adopt properties which seem very close to ESL varieties, as in the Netherlands (Edwards 2016) or Namibia, which remarkably, at independence in 1990, established English as its sole national language despite the lack of a colonial past or much sociolinguistic backing (Buschfeld and Kautzsch 2014).

Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) reacted to this situation by proposing a new model, which is viewed as an expansion of the Dynamic Model and emphasizes the effect of "extra- and intra-territorial forces" in the emergence of both ESL and EFL varieties. Some innovative theorizing has questioned the earlier focus on English in specific nation-states, partly through the increasing importance of the Internet; Seargeant and Tagg (2011), for example, have suggested a "post-varieties approach" to the understanding of the current variability of global English. In a similar vein, Mair (2013) proposes a new hierarchy of global Englishes (with American English as the only "hypercentral" hub) and looks into the transnational dissemination of some varieties in cyberspace. Buschfeld and Schneider (2017) provide a comprehensive account of the history and current state of WEs theorizing (see also Buschfeld and Kautzsch, Chapter 3, this volume).

Early accounts of individual varieties of WEs used to be based on an author's intimate familiarity with the variety in question and tended to document and illustrate a selection of distinctive linguistic feature lists. Many broad sociohistorical accounts have followed suit, documenting the transportation of English to specific locales and the resultant sociolinguistic settings, often in multilingual communities. The majority of these studies are based on fieldwork on location, that is, systematic collections

of speech data. At the same time, a strictly sociolinguistic “language variation and change” paradigm, strongly employing quantitative techniques in the post-Labovian tradition, has been growing, though it tends to mainly focus on ENL countries. For example, the 1990s and after saw a strong wave of quantitative sociolinguistic work in New Zealand (e.g. Holmes and Bell 1990); there has been some work in this tradition in Australia (notably Horvath 1985) and South Africa (Wilmot 2014) – but, generally speaking, this remains a research desideratum for most ESL countries (for a programmatic outline of such research, see Sharma 2017).

For the last two decades, the field of WEs has received a major boost by its association with corpus linguistics. A wide range of large-scale electronic text collections representing individual national varieties of English and different styles and genres is now readily available (see Hundt, Chapter 22, this volume) and can be analyzed by means of specially designed software (e.g. the free-ware program AntConc). Originally, this is to be credited to the vision of Sidney Greenbaum, who originated the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) project (Greenbaum 1996). Individual ICE corpora consist of one million words of text from a given nation, sampled along the same lines. Notably, 60 percent of the data are transcripts of speech, which gives these corpora a high degree of authenticity despite their focus on educated speech. Subsequently, the work of Mark Davies of Brigham Young University (Utah) has boosted the magnitude of corpora which represent WEs. He has culled huge corpora automatically from the Internet, tremendous in size though more restricted in representativeness as far as text types are concerned. Cases in point are the *Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE) corpus with 1.9 billion words and the *News on the Web* (NOW) corpus, which is a monitor corpus, that is, it keeps growing every day and by now has reached almost 7 billion words – both sampling data from twenty different nations.

For this particular handbook, we opted for a selection of what we regard as important “must-have chapters” plus several chapters that address recent developments and introduce innovative perspectives, partly touching on neighboring fields. Most notably, the former include a thorough coverage of the expansion of English from its heartland in the British Isles to the “New World” and the entire globe, first within the British Isles, then across the North Atlantic into the Caribbean and North America, and, finally, into Asia, Africa, and the Southern Hemisphere, including the Pacific region. The common denominator to many (if not all) of the regionally oriented chapters is that a diachronic approach is quintessential to retrace the historical dimension of English as a global language and to understand why the different Englishes carry the ideological weight or have a particular function in a now globalized world – or, quite simply, why WEs are the way they are and how they have come to be so. We follow the regional expansion step-by-step and use historical evolution as a baseline for further explorations in other research fields, which in our view have great potential and might develop into new hotspots or even

new subdisciplines. At the same time, we give room to important overarching questions relating to the consequences of colonization and economic globalization via population movements and language contacts (cf. language shift in favor of an economically and politically dominant language), the survival of stigmatized forms, and immigrants' varieties whose present-day migration patterns are rapidly changing social and linguistic landscapes around the world, affecting the current role of English as a global language as well. Population structure(s) may produce various kinds of boundaries between the coexistent languages, through ethnic or religious segregation for instance, although we will see that such divisions are usually far from clear-cut.

As a reflection of the evolution of a vast and quickly diversifying research area, *The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes* has been conceived to cover the state of the art of four decades' research on various issues related to English as a world language while at the same time inviting readers to critically assess what we perceive to be some of the most topical issues and research questions for the near future. It is not our intention to integrate all traditional fields here, as there is neither scope nor space (nor indeed need) for this; instead, we focus on some selected research areas, so some important and current topics (e.g. language contact involving English and other languages) are addressed from different and complementary perspectives, simply to show how densely connected and interdisciplinary the field has become as the body of research has grown. Perhaps the principal aim of the handbook is to show how various disciplines are merging and intersecting in the broad field of WEs research, from the historical development of the language into multiple localized varieties to the relevance for linguistic disciplines such as historical linguistics, lexicography, or contact linguistics but also in terms of social applications, political thinking, media reflections, and the like.

The volume thus offers a comprehensive view of various fields, recent achievements, and current developments in the quickly expanding and highly productive area of WEs. In addition to the general introduction, it consists of twenty-eight chapters, all written by internationally acclaimed authorities, providing up-to-date discussions of timely and relevant themes. They place special focus on the analysis and contextualization of Englishes from theoretical and also methodological perspectives, thereby contributing to the appreciation and in-depth understanding of English as a global language. The handbook thus covers the major domains of contemporary research on WEs, including the history of individual varieties, the contact-based evolution of WEs, areal expansion and diffusion patterns, the formation of local extraterritorial forms, areal typology, and the function of English from a transnational perspective.

Part I, "The making of Englishes," consists of five contributions, each dealing with a general aspect of the role and function of English around the world. The expansion of English, the presentation and critical



evaluation of theoretical models, and the contribution of language contact to the emergence of WEs are central concerns, along with the impact of sociodemographics, population structures, migration and language change in the diaspora, and ethnolectalization in super-diverse urban areas.

In Chapter 2, “The Colonial and Postcolonial Expansion of English,” Raymond Hickey details the most crucial process as to why English has become a world language: its spread beyond the British Isles into various “new Worlds” between the early seventeenth and the early twentieth centuries. In several settlement waves, the colonists (who were by no means a homogeneous group) took various forms of English (mainly from England, Scotland, and Ireland) to the newly established colonies on all continents. Hickey shows that dialect transportation was diachronically layered over roughly three centuries, with the northern half of the globe being settled from approximately 1600 onward and the southern half from around 1800. With reference to a framework of dialect contact and principles of koinéization, Hickey shows the linguistic consequences of regional origins and layers of colonization for the shaping of varieties of English in overseas locations, for instance that non-rhoticity in Southern Hemisphere Englishes can be accounted for by relatively late settlement and ongoing change in the British Isles. With the end of the colonial period and de facto independence of nearly all the larger English-speaking countries, new developments affected both the continuation of settler English and the emergence of new second-language varieties. Hickey concentrates on the dialect-contact origins of varieties around the world and analyzes them within a framework of emerging varieties derived (but geographically separated from) their ancestral varieties in the British Isles.

In Chapter 3, “Theoretical Models of English as a World Language,” Sarah Buschfeld and Alexander Kautzsch provide a critical assessment of various models and their implications for a classification of Englishes around the world. A range of theoretical frameworks and models have been developed and proposed to understand comparable types and developments of the different Englishes that have developed in virtually every corner of the world and to grasp similarities between forms and functions of native-language, second-language, and foreign-language varieties. Adopting a perspective which respects the evolution of subsequent, perhaps increasingly sophisticated frameworks within the field and distinguishing early static models from a later “diachronic turn,” the chapter sketches major developments and theoretical trends in WEs research. It provides an overview and critical account of the most influential models of English as a world language, including the ENL/ESL/EFL distinction, Kachru’s (1985), McArthur’s (1987), and Görlach’s (1990) circles, Gupta’s (1997), Mesthrie and Bhatt’s (2008), and Mair’s (2013) classifications, as well as the diachronic approaches proposed by Moag (1992) and Schneider (2003, 2007). Moreover, Buschfeld and Kautzsch discuss some more recent



developments, that is, they call for a more flexible handling of ostensibly clear-cut categories (e.g. ENL vs. ESL vs. EFL) and a stronger consideration of the Expanding Circle/EFL varieties; and they advocate an integrated theoretical approach to second-language and learner varieties of English. They argue that there is a need to develop more nuanced models to cope with the complex realities of speakers in a globally mobile and increasingly transnational world, notably the Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces Model (Buschfeld and Kautzsch 2017) and the notion of Transnational Attraction (Schneider 2014).

Chapter 4, “The Contribution of Language Contact to the Emergence of World Englishes,” authored by Lisa Lim, focuses on contact-induced language change by discussing the contribution of language contact between English and other languages on local processes of transformation, transfer, and change. Lim shows that the emergence of WEs is a direct consequence of contact between communities and their language varieties, as the earlier spread of English, in the exploitation colonies of Asia and Africa in particular, entailed contact with numerous, typologically diverse, languages over some four centuries of British/American colonization. The local populations adopted English historically as a second language through education or via lingua franca use in trade situations, so this is presented as a major criterion in ongoing diversification processes. The Englishes that have evolved in all these locales thus reveal the social history of communities in contact alongside the structural peculiarities of linguistic systems that contributed to their emergence, which means that researchers need to focus on contact linguistic mechanisms by combining external and internal foci. With special focus on the Asian century, Lim highlights newly emerging dynamics in the era of globalization, such as computer-mediated communication, the global new economy, and popular culture, which, in turn, involve new roles of New Englishes and their speakers.

In Chapter 5, “Population Structure and the Emergence of World Englishes,” Salikoko S. Mufwene highlights the notion of “population structure” to explain the ecologies of the global diffusion of English, the spread of innovations, and the evolution of new varieties of English. He sketches the colonization of the world by the English since the seventeenth century, beginning with the colonization of Ireland, and considers sociopolitical processes like industrialization and urbanization as crucial factors. In North America and the Caribbean, he traces the unintended consequences of varying colonization styles implemented there. Economic and cultural practices explain differences in the evolutionary trajectories between African American and European American dialects in the overall evolution of varieties of American English. In a similar vein, he considers the development of Australian English, including Aboriginal English, and of Southwest Pacific as well as West African pidgins, all of which ultimately were shaped by the socioeconomic and communicative

conditions determined by their respective population structures. Exploitation colonies produced postcolonial (or “Outer Circle”) varieties, with local population majorities and a significant impact of indigenous languages. Mufwene thus emphasizes that sociohistorical and language-ecological factors have been crucial in the differential evolution of Englishes around the world.

In Chapter 6, “World Englishes, Migration, and Diaspora,” Lena Zipp focuses on the consequences of modern-day migration patterns for the emergence of new forms or types of WEs in the diaspora, a concept that has found renewed currency in sociological and sociolinguistic scholarship in the last two decades. Zipp advocates the addition of different analytic perspectives to WEs research, pushing the boundaries of the discipline toward a constructivist rather than an essentialist perspective, and toward foregoing static categories (such as “varieties”) in favor of more fluid concepts (“diaspora as practice”). She uses third-wave variationist sociolinguistics as a baseline to address issues related to the creation and re-creation of identities through language practices: emerging forms of language mixing or hybridization with identity construction, the role of the immigrant generation in the flexible usage of ethnolinguistic repertoires, linguistic correlates of the factors of *homeland orientation* and *boundary maintenance* in secondary diaspora situations, and the overall contribution of multi-ethnic varieties of English to the WEs canon.

Part II, “World Englishes Old and New,” consists of six contributions altogether, each dealing with one particular world region, highlighting sociohistorical evolution processes and current social or medial settings of WEs. Combined, these chapters offer a comprehensive outline of the history of English and provide an overview of the exportation of English within the British Isles into the New World and around the globe (North America, Caribbean, Africa, South and Southeast Asia as well as the Southern Hemisphere), thus complementing the chapters in Part I from the perspective of external language history.

In Chapter 7, “A Sociolinguistic Ecology of Colonial Britain,” David Britain looks at what might be referred to as the “prehistory” of English as a world language: the sociolinguistic context of England and English society around 1600. His focus is not on the migrants or their linguistic profiles per se but on the social and linguistic ecology of Britain at the time when colonization and out-migration began as a concerted enterprise, so this chapter provides the sociohistorical backbone for an understanding of the linguistic and sociolinguistic processes that occurred in overseas settings. Britain concentrates on four aspects in particular: multilingualism and multidialectalism; social and geographical mobility and its causes; education, schooling, and literacy (including some reflections on ongoing standardization and language ideologies); and the role of social “identities” in British society at the time. The chapter characterizes the cultural and sociolinguistic baggage the migrants took with them to the New

World while also highlighting the cultural burdens, societal division, and emotional disruption from which the colonists would have wished to distance themselves during their colonial experiences.

In Chapter 8, “English in North America,” Merja Kytö provides a detailed account of the evolution of US and Canadian English as well as African American English as an example of an ethnolect, drawing on previous research in dialectology, historical sociolinguistics, and corpus-based studies. Starting with a review of the sociohistorical background of North American Englishes, she critically discusses available evidence on the evolution of US, Canadian, and African American English and gives an overview of characteristic features of the varieties with respect to accent, morphosyntax, and vocabulary. Even though North American varieties of English are among the best-documented and most widely researched WEs, there is still considerable scope for further research, as Kytö points out in her conclusion.

Chapter 9, “English in the Caribbean and the Central American Rim,” authored by Michael Aceto, shifts the geographical focus by discussing the emergence of “newer” (i.e. in the last 400 years or less) varieties of English spoken in the Caribbean and in Central America, focusing on a description of geographical locations and the social contexts in which they emerged and where they are now used. Aceto provides a short discussion of the sociolinguistic influences that have shaped contact-derived varieties and critically assesses some of the popular heuristics suggested for understanding the emergence of these same varieties. The chapter is complemented by a morphosyntactic profile of similarities and differences among specific varieties, which is both a description of varieties that have received less attention in the WEs canon and an illustration of the research potential for the field of contact linguistics and dialect typology.

In Chapter 10, “English in Africa,” Bertus van Rooy explains how English came to Africa through the slave trade, exploitation colonization, and limited settlement colonization. After political independence, English continues to play a major role in the vast majority of former British colonies, where a majority of non-native African teachers of English are key role players in transmitting English to new users rather than native speakers. English shares its place in these linguistic ecologies with many other languages, which means that there has been a long-standing tradition of multilingualism in Africa. Van Rooy’s chapter goes on to examine the history of transmission and diffusion of English in order to account for its present-day position and diversity. The chapter pays special attention to available linguistic descriptions and discusses new evidence from corpora, identifying patterns of correspondence and divergence among varieties within regions and countries. It also accounts for these patterns in terms of social history, contact, substrate languages, and processes of teaching and learning that all have contributed to the present state, exemplifying the processes at hand with in-depth discussions of various settings throughout the continent.

Chapter 11, “English in South Asia,” contributed by Claudia Lange, shows how the English language has developed from a contested colonial legacy into an asset. The chapter defines the notion of South Asia and surveys the nation-states of the region, including its cultural and linguistic background, and then traces the historical development of English in the area from the beginning of British colonialism to the present day, with a main focus on English in India as the largest and most important nation-state to emerge on the subcontinent. Distinctive features of Indian English are outlined as opposed to those of Sri Lanka and other South Asian varieties. On that basis, the theoretically important notion is developed that Indian English has grown into the role of a regional epicenter in South Asia.

The course of English has taken a slightly different trajectory in Southeast Asia, and this provides complementary insights into the changing status and properties of English in this region. In Chapter 12, consequently, Lionel Wee focuses on four settings primarily: Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand. His aim is to detail how local settings contributed to the emergence of indigenized varieties there, sketching out and comparing parallels and differences with reference to the wider Asian region generally. The chapter describes the sociolinguistic development of Englishes in various settings while also including recent processes that are a by-product of human traffic, the economy, and globalization: neoliberalism, migration, and commodification.

In Chapter 13, “World Englishes Old and New: English in Australasia and the South Pacific,” Caroline Biewer and Kate Burridge cover a broad and diverse range of native and non-native varieties of English. They take as their starting point a critical discussion and redefinition of the notion of “areal feature” and survey arguments that speak in favor and those that speak against the existence of areal features in Australasia and the South Pacific (AuSP). Against this theoretical backdrop, they discuss three scenarios for the emergence of areal features in AuSP in more detail: (1) parallel developments in Australian and New Zealand English; (2) influence of settler varieties and outcomes of language contact in the region; and (3) similarities in the substrate languages and linguistic ecologies in the development of AuSP pidgins and creoles, illustrating each with examples on all linguistic levels from varieties such as Australian and New Zealand English, Māori English, and Tok Pisin. While they concede that “[g]enuine pan-AuSP features are hard to locate” (p. 301), their critical and comprehensive survey of regional varieties against this theoretical backdrop provides an interesting starting point for further research.

The eleven contributions in Part III, “Linguistics and World Englishes,” focus on the contribution of WEs for various linguistic disciplines, with the aim of providing a detailed range of theoretical and methodological aspects involved in the application of WEs to linguistic research: the global grassroots growth of English, the persistence and local innovation of

dialect roots, methodological aspects underlying research on the diachrony of WEs, the general relevance of WEs for and their coverage in lexicography, and relationships with neighboring disciplines such as multilingualism, variationist sociolinguistics, and language acquisition. Moreover, Part III deals with the transition of Englishes between second-language and foreign-language status and with English in cyberspace, and it critically evaluates corpus-linguistic or dialect-typological methods employed in researching WEs.

Chapter 14, “The Global Growth of English at the Grassroots,” by Christiane Meierkord, moves away from the conventional focus of the field on educated speakers, individuals with secondary education, and members of social elites to a recognition of an increasingly important proportion of today’s users of English (especially in postcolonial societies), namely those who have acquired English with limited or no access to formal instruction in the language. She looks into how grassroots emergence and diffusion have been growing in a wide range of contexts, regions, and varieties, associating these with characteristic occupations and settings that require some degree of expressive capacity in English without access to formal education (but driven by high motivation). The survey is supported by interesting figures on proficiency levels in different countries and regions. “Englishes at the grassroots” are then illustrated, drawing on examples from informal traders in Uganda, domestic workers in Hong Kong, refugees in Europe, and informal eateries in Uganda and the Maldives. Further aspects covered include interactions of Englishes at the grassroots level and grassroots literacy (e.g. in linguistic landscapes). In conclusion, the chapter critically assesses and shows how these so far underrepresented varieties can be included in current models of English, thus opening a fresh and important perspective on the discipline.

Chapter 15, “Beyond English as a Second or Foreign Language: Local Uses and the Cultural Politics of Identification,” by Alison Edwards and Philip Seargeant, reacts to and further develops a strong trend in recent research, motivated by the recognition that it is becoming increasingly difficult in many contexts to neatly distinguish between ESL and EFL countries. Consequently, the authors advocate a shift away from highlighting territorial varieties toward a sociocultural and ethnographic orientation. They draw observations and case studies from Japan and the Netherlands, two putatively “Expanding Circle” countries in which, however, English has been gaining ground substantially in the recent past. Starting out from sociolinguistic sketches of the functions and settings of current English in these two countries and drawing on media examples from there, they argue that English is seen as a flexible and creative mobile resource, available for transcultural processes and practices and thus transcending a neatly variety-based line of thinking. English is thus seen as a vehicle for the enactment of localized but also transnational identities and for one’s own self-positioning.

Research on English as a commodity for communication on the Internet is a relatively recent field in WEs research. In Chapter 16, “World Englishes in Cyberspace,” Christian Mair provides a state-of-the-art review of previous studies, within both more traditional discourse-analytical and recent sociolinguistic approaches, as well as research that straddles this distinction. He defines the scope of the field and uses two case studies, one on the prestige associated with nonstandard Englishes in computer-mediated communication (CMC) and one on multilingual practices in CMC. In the final section, these case studies are brought together in a discussion of the sociolinguistics of WEs as used on the World Wide Web, notably with respect to the notion of *languagescape* (Appadurai 1996), which Mair uses to single out existing biases in previous studies of WEs. The chapter closes with suggestions on how the notion of *languagescape(s)* could be fruitfully exploited in future research into WEs in cyberspace.

Chapter 17, “World Englishes and Their Dialect Roots,” focuses on English historical linguistics and the role of dialect contact in particular. Daniel Schreier retraces how WEs gradually developed out of Englishes spoken throughout the British Isles. Dialects were transported all over the globe by speakers from different regions, social classes, and educational backgrounds, who migrated with distinct trajectories, for various periods of time, and in distinct chronological phases. It was these founder varieties that laid the foundation for emerging offspring varieties; some features either remained in more or less robust form or underwent far-reaching structural and systemic change under local linguistic-ecological contact conditions. Schreier traces some selected dialect roots of New Englishes, that is, features that can be retraced to regional dialects of the British Isles, what Hickey (2004: 1) has called “dialect input and the survival of features from a mainland source or sources.” These “roots of English” (Tagliamonte 2012) are of equal importance for regionally confined contact scenarios (i.e. WEs in specific locales) and the widespread appearance of what Chambers (2009: 258) calls “vernacular roots.” They are central to any reconstruction of the evolutionary formation of WEs in that they allow for an assessment of input strength and the impact of contact-induced mechanisms. Diffusion and feature adoption processes are exemplified with case studies from Newfoundland, the US Atlantic States, and the Caribbean.

While traditional lexicography has largely focused on mainstream “Inner Circle” varieties of English, in Chapter 18, “Lexicography and World Englishes,” James Lambert redirects our attention and systematically covers and documents lexicographic efforts to collect and describe the vocabularies of new varieties of English in ESL and other countries. He starts out with a thorough survey of conceptual and methodological basics in lexicography, considering fundamental properties, subtypes, methodological issues, and user perspectives of dictionaries. The main part then consists of a first-time comprehensive



survey of available dictionaries and glossaries that cover the English lexis in specific varieties, regions, and nation-states, with descriptive and characterizing annotations. For anybody interested in the lexicography of WEs, this chapter provides a wealth of information, documentation, and detail.

In Chapter 19, “The Relevance of World Englishes for Variationist Sociolinguistics,” Alexandra D’Arcy shows the overlap of WEs research with variationist sociolinguistics and historical linguistics, arguing that many of the changes have operated diachronically but were, by necessity, reflected in synchronic grammars of individual varieties (D’Arcy 2015). The worldwide spread of English offers new research perspectives for variation and change processes, and these are demonstrated here with reference to external language history (e.g. patterns of colonization, stratification, contact and interaction) on both local and global scales. D’Arcy suggests that WEs ideally lend themselves to the scrutiny of central issues in sociolinguistic theory – the adoption, survival, and modification of inherited features and diffusion and innovation processes, to name but two – and shows how a study of WEs can be applied to language variation and change mechanisms, both as contact-induced and as structure-specific processes through an application of the comparative method (Tagliamonte 2002). The processes at hand are illustrated with case studies on individual features in WEs (e.g. quotative *like*) while special attention is given to non-native speakers and lingua franca varieties.

Since the foundations of English were laid in the British Isles, English has *always* existed within a context of multilingualism, a fact that is often overlooked in any discussion of global English or the “spread” of English. In Chapter 20, “Multilingualism and the World Englishes,” Sue Fox shows the sociolinguistic consequences of the fact that English has continued to become more important in countries that have no links to a colonial history or where it has no official function. It is in these countries, she shows, that many speakers have acquired or are acquiring English for use as a lingua franca for communicating with people from many different linguistic backgrounds. English is often used within an individual’s multilingual repertoire and tends to be modeled on one of the world’s “standard” varieties, usually British or, increasingly, American English. Fox provides an overview of the way in which English has existed within a framework of multilingualism in different contexts. Drawing on Kachru’s (1992) terms, she considers multilingualism in Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle countries. Special focus is given to the British Isles, where the myth of English monolingualism probably persists most strongly. The chapter considers both historical and modern-day multilingualism within the British Isles and shows how multilingualism, as a consequence of the immigration of speakers from postcolonial contexts, has an impact on the English variety spoken in London.



The growing interest in the WEs paradigm has given rise to a rapidly increasing number of synchronic studies, yet diachronic investigations are still the exception. In Chapter 21, “Unearthing the Diachrony of World Englishes,” Magnus Huber provides some attempts to unearth the structural history of New Englishes based on written and spoken data. His emphasis is on national standard varieties of English but reference is also made to the diachronic study of pidgin and creole Englishes, which started earlier, raising methodological and practical issues that are also relevant for New Englishes. Though some progress has been made with regard to the investigation of the development of a number of Inner Circle (mother tongue) varieties, Outer Circle (second language, or L2) varieties have not received much attention. One main reason for the lack of studies on the structural evolution of these varieties is that, in many cases, authentic historical language data are either nonexistent or have not yet been accessed by linguists. Huber locates and discusses the compilation of historical corpora and identifies sources that can be used to further our understanding of the diachrony of Outer Circle Englishes.

In Chapter 22, “Corpus-Based Approaches to World Englishes,” Marianne Hundt traces the main developments in corpus-linguistic research from a WEs perspective, critically discussing methodological issues such as corpus size, sampling, and representativeness, and tracing the changing focus from metropolitan to PCEs and learner Englishes. The chapter also provides an overview of the various applications of corpora in WEs research, be it for theoretical or statistical modeling or as a testing bed for hypotheses concerning language contact and morpho-syntactic, socio-linguistic, or pragmatic variation, citing representative case studies for each area. Another section on corpus-based research into recent and diachronic change complements Huber’s chapter: It looks at different approaches to the corpus-based study of change in WEs (apparent- vs. real-time, brachychronic vs. diachronic), surveys existing corpus resources, and provides an overview of the state of the art in the field on the basis of seminal studies in this subfield of corpus linguistics. The chapter concludes by pointing out lacunae in corpus-based research of WEs and the resources that would be necessary to fill these gaps.

In Chapter 23, Benedikt Szmrecsanyi and Melanie Röthlisberger approach “World Englishes from the Perspective of Dialect Typology.” They look into language-internal factors that are used to distinguish different WEs (i.e. variety type, areality, and contact) and critically discuss different kinds of universals (ranging from genuine universals via areoversals to varioversals) and their usefulness for a dialect typology of WEs before moving on to parameters of structural diversity (i.e. parameters such as analyticity vs. syntheticity and complexity vs. simplicity). For each perspective, Szmrecsanyi and Röthlisberger show how the concepts have been used in empirical research, thus providing a survey of relevant and cutting-edge methodologies (such as NeighborNet clustering or Multiple

Correspondence Analysis) in the field. They conclude by pointing toward neighboring disciplines (in particular corpus-based statistical modeling of variation and language sociology) that could be brought to bear on research into dialect typology in the future.

Second-language and foreign-language WEs are ultimately products of second-language acquisition and sometimes language shift on a community basis. Fundamentally, thus, there should be an intrinsic relationship between the disciplines of language acquisition and WEs but, in practice, the methodologies and results of both branches are largely unrelated and unaware of each other – a fact that early research already identified as a “paradigm gap” (Sridhar and Sridhar 1986: 3). In Chapter 24, “Language Acquisition and World Englishes,” Sarah Buschfeld sets out to bridge this gap and to work out similarities and relationships between both approaches, bringing in first-language acquisition as well and arguing that all these branches should work together closely to gain a better understanding of the phenomena in question. She briefly surveys earlier work in WEs, language acquisition, and learner Englishes, highlighting components that should be of interest for all these approaches. Based on some earlier contributions and on case studies (comparing English in Cyprus, a putative second-language setting, and Greece, a foreign-language context, or English in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia where the language coexists with Malay in systematically differing relationships, for instance), she argues that there is no reason to posit ESL and EFL as fundamentally distinct variety types when considering and comparing contact and acquisitional settings and their outcomes. This perspective is then expanded to integrate also ENL contexts, based on research on the first-language acquisition of English by children in Singapore. Buschfeld’s argument that these contexts should be regarded as a continuum rather than as distinct variety types and that sociolinguistic WEs approaches and psycholinguistic work in language acquisition need to collaborate more effectively and will strongly profit from such a collaboration constitutes an important theoretical advancement in the field.

Finally, Part IV, “Current Challenges,” is dedicated to issues that we believe are contemporary hotspots in WEs research and which promise to be important and fruitful avenues for future exploration. The five chapters here deal with the questions of what the norms are for different WEs and by which processes new standards emerge, how WEs are subject to identity construction and indexicality, and also what role they play in language politics, the media, and transnationalism in a globalizing world.

In Chapter 25, “Norms and Standards in World Englishes,” Pam Peters lays the conceptual basis by reviewing the linguistic issues inherent in the concepts of “norm” and “standard,” distinguishing between language and usage norms as well as between different perspectives on standardization, including the evolution of new regional standards in a globalizing language. Having provided workable operationalizations of the core

concepts, she uses two case studies to illustrate how theoretical modeling of WEs (in particular the notion of evolutionary stages from Schneider 2003, 2007) can be brought together with empirical (corpus- and survey-based) research into local norms of usage. In addition, available metalinguistic evidence is used to validate corpus- and survey-based results. Taken together, Peters convincingly argues, the different kinds of evidence allow us to assess the emergence of endonormativity in evolving WEs.

Identity construction is a key concept in WEs, as well as (but not only) in Schneider's evolutionary model. At the same time, it is a theoretically and empirically elusive concept. The aim of Chapter 26, "Identity and Indexicality in the Study of World Englishes," by Erik Schleeef, is to provide a sound theoretical basis for the study of identity in WEs research and thus furnishes scholars of WEs interested in the concept of identity with an overview of the different ways that sociolinguistic variationist research has defined and applied the notion of "identity" (i.e. the move from macro-sociological to local definitions and a shift from quantitative to more qualitative research). Schleeef also reviews previous research into WEs that has made use of the different perspectives on identity construction, critically discussing the choice of variables that has been used to tap into identity work in WEs. Schleeef argues that indexicality theory is best suited to address the question of how linguistic usage and identity construction are connected and that the micro and macro level of variation need to be integrated in research by taking the meso and macro level of social structure into account. He also argues that evidence for the study of identity construction has to come from both usage and perception data.

Chapter 27, "The Politics of World Englishes," by Mario Saraceni, highlights the inherently and unavoidably political character of language practice in general and discussions of WEs in particular. Language usage is directly associated with questions of supremacy and power relationships (as is shown by a discussion of the fears of jeopardizing the purity of English by immigrants), and the same applies to the global diffusion of English to new territories, of course. As Saraceni shows, the legitimacy of new varieties of English has also been questioned in settler colonies (e.g. in Australia) and even more so in exploitation colonies in Africa and Asia. WEs as a research paradigm has always embraced an explicitly egalitarian stance, and the chapter discusses the political debates that have resulted from this attitude. Alternatively, the claim of "linguistic imperialism" has blamed global English as being essentially a tool in a neoliberal, capitalist agenda of perpetuating linguistic as well as sociopolitical inequalities. Saraceni navigates a reasonable intermediate position between these claims and concepts, questioning some aspects of the discourses on the political legitimacy of varieties of English. Like others in this handbook, he implicitly calls for viewing English not as a national property (which unavoidably introduces inequalities) but as a fluid set of semiotic resources

available in a wide range of transnational contexts. He makes readers aware of the fact that inequalities and power imbalances need to be considered, however, when discussing WEs and the global functions of the language.

In Chapter 28, “World Englishes in the Media,” Andrew Moody examines fundamental issues as well as a range of studies of media language conducted from a WEs perspective. He demonstrates that the examination of media Englishes has become a staple component of descriptions of WEs, listing many examples from different countries and contexts. As such, the chapter questions the validity of claims that some types of language usage (and, by implication, data in general) are “authentic” whereas others are not. The chapter shows that “authenticity” is often considered a characteristic feature of media Englishes that must be carefully balanced against the “authority” of the standard language. Within this framework of thinking, the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles of WEs show consistently different patterns of balancing concerns for “authenticity” and “authority” in media Englishes, an observation that is substantiated by case studies from different varieties. Moody thus thoroughly documents the important role that both media language in itself and its investigation and interpretation play in the context of WEs research.

Finally, in Chapter 29, Brook Bolander looks at “World Englishes and Transnationalism.” She briefly traces the history of the concept to its current popularity in sociology and its adoption by sociolinguists, and provides a clear definition of the notion vis-à-vis related concepts such as globalization and across different disciplinary appropriations of the term (i.e. in anthropology, sociology, political science, and cultural studies). Bolander argues that transnationalism serves as an important concept to counter approaches that unduly focus on nation-states, borders, and centers, thus stressing that it has relevance beyond theory-building for methodological approaches in sociolinguistics, including research into WEs. Her survey of sociolinguistic studies, specifically on English, that have been informed by discussions about transnationalism includes studies with a metatheoretical focus, ethnographic research, investigation of migration and subjectivity, digital communication as a translocal space, and sociolinguistic investigation of language commodification. Importantly, as the author points out, transnationalism “should not deter from World Englishes research in national contexts. It should rather prompt for the concurrent problematizing of the nation as an ideological and historical construct in its own right, in connection with a focus on how localized and localizing uses and ideologies of English become pertinent to the enactment of transnationalism” (p. 695).

All in all, this handbook is intended to be a reference guide, a complete state-of-the-art overview and coherent picture of key findings (present and past) and theoretical ideas that jointly have created the dynamic and vibrant research field of WEs, seasoned with innovative ideas that will

direct the future of the discipline. The sections are complementary and interlocking. We have done our best to minimize overlap yet at the same time show interdisciplinary connections as clearly as possible, pointing out related areas and topics so as to offer readers a clear, comprehensive, and authoritative approach to significant topics in the field. Our most important aim, other than retracing how English has grown into its current role as a global language, is to show the breadth, versatility, and immense research potential of WEs as a field in its own right.

## References

- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Buschfeld, Sarah. 2013. *English in Cyprus or Cyprus English? An Empirical Investigation of Variety Status*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Buschfeld, Sarah and Alexander Kautzsch. 2014. English in Namibia: A first approach. *English World-Wide* 35(2): 121–160.
- Buschfeld, Sarah and Alexander Kautzsch. 2017. Towards an integrative approach to postcolonial and non-postcolonial Englishes. *World Englishes* 36: 104–126.
- Buschfeld, Sarah, Thomas Hoffmann, Magnus Huber and Alexander Kautzsch, eds. 2014. *The Evolution of Englishes: The Dynamic Model and Beyond*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Buschfeld, Sarah and Edgar W. Schneider. 2017. World Englishes: Postcolonial Englishes and beyond. In Ee Ling Low and Anne Pakir, eds. *World Englishes: Re-Thinking Paradigms*. London: Routledge, 29–46.
- Chambers, J. K. 2009. *Sociolinguistic Theory*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Cheshire, Jenny, Paul Kerswill, Susan Fox and Eivind Torgersen. 2011. Contact, the feature pool and the speech community: The emergence of Multicultural London English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(2): 151–196.
- Crystal, David. 2008. Two thousand million? Updates on the statistics of English. *English Today* 93 24: 3–6.
- D'Arcy, Alexandra. 2015. Variation, transmission, incrementation. In Patrick Honeybone and Joe Salmons, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Phonology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 583–602.
- Danet, Brenda and Susan C. Herring, eds. 2007. *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture, and Communication Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davydova, Julia. 2012. English in the outer and expanding circles: A comparative study. *World Englishes* 31: 366–385.
- Edwards, Alison. 2016. *English in the Netherlands: Functions, Forms and Attitudes*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Foley, Joseph, ed. 1988. *New Englishes: The Case of Singapore*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

- Görlach, Manfred. 1990. The development of Standard Englishes. In Manfred Görlach, ed. *Studies in the History of the English Language*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 9–64.
- Greenbaum, Sidney, ed. 1996. *Comparing English Worldwide: The International Corpus of English*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Gupta, Anthea Fraser. 1997. Colonisation, migration, and functions of English. In Edgar W. Schneider, ed. *Englishes Around the World*, Vol. 1: *General Studies, British Isles, North America*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 47–58.
- Hickey, Raymond, ed. 2004. *Legacies of Colonial English: Studies in Transported Dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holmes, Janet and Allan Bell, eds. 1990. *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Horvath, Barbara. 1985. *Variation in Australian English: The Sociolects of Sydney*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ike, Saya. 2012. Japanese English as a variety: Features and intelligibility of an emerging variety of English. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Melbourne.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1985. Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In Randolph Quirk and H. G. Widdowson, eds. *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11–30.
- Kachru, Braj B., ed. 1992. *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lass, Roger. 1990. Where do Extraterritorial Englishes come from? Dialect input and recodification in transported Englishes. In Sylvia M. Adamson, Vivien A. Law, Nigel Vincent and Susan Wright, eds. *Papers from the 5th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 245–280.
- Mair, Christian. 2013. The world system of Englishes: Accounting for the transnational importance of mobile and mediated vernaculars. *English World-Wide* 34(3): 253–278.
- McArthur, Tom. 1987. The English languages? *English Today* 3(3): 9–13.
- McArthur, Tom. 2003. World English, Euro-English, Nordic English? *English Today* 19(1): 54–58.
- Mesthrie, Rajend and Rakesh M. Bhatt. 2008. *World Englishes: The Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moag, Rodney. 1992. The life cycle of non-native Englishes: A case study. In Braj B. Kachru, ed. *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 233–252.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato and Marianne Hundt, eds. 2011. *Exploring Second-Language Varieties of English and Learner Englishes: Bridging a Paradigm Gap*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.



- Platt, John and Heidi Weber. 1980. *English in Singapore and Malaysia: Status, Features, Functions*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Platt, John, Heidi Weber and Mian Lian Ho. 1984. *The New Englishes*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2003. The dynamics of New Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language* 79: 233–281.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2011. *English around the World: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2014. New reflections on the evolutionary dynamics of World Englishes. *World Englishes* 33: 9–32.
- Schneider, Edgar W. 2016. Grassroots Englishes in tourism interactions. *English Today* 32(3): 2–10.
- Sergeant, Philip and Caroline Tagg. 2011. English on the internet and a “post-varieties” approach to language. *World Englishes* 30(4): 496–514.
- Seoane, Elena and Cristina Suárez-Gómez, eds. 2016. *World Englishes: New Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sharma, Devyani. 2017. World Englishes and sociolinguistic theory. In Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola and Devyani Sharma, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 232–251.
- Sridhar, Kamal, K. and Shikaripur N. Sridhar. 1986. Bridging the paradigm gap: Second language acquisition theory and indigenized varieties of English. *World Englishes* 5: 3–14.
- Tagliamonte, Sali A. 2002. Comparative sociolinguistics. In J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes, eds. *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 729–763.
- Tagliamonte, Sali. 2012. *Roots of English: Exploring the History of Dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



